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SUBJECT: THE ABUJA SULLIVAN SUMMIT WAS A SUCCESS

1. Summary: The Sixth Leon H. Sullivan Summit, convened July 12-17 in Abuja was momentous and successful. The overarching Summit theme was "Africa: A Continent of Possibilities" and the week lived up to its name. President Bush, the first Republican President to visit Africa, made a historic address to open the Summit. Hosted by Nigerian President Obasanjo the Summit was attended by approximately 15 African Heads of State, important private sector figures and representatives from NGOs and academia who came to the event to strengthen the relationships between Africans and Americans in the key areas of business, trade and investment, education, health and agriculture. The late Rev. Sullivan's legacy of self-help and bridge-building across the Atlantic was affirmed by the Summiteers, including President George Bush in his opening remarks. In addition to Secretary Powell, National Security Advisor Rice and White House Chief of Staff Card who were part of the President's delegation, the Summit was well attended by senior USG officials, representing the U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID), the U.S. Trade Representative (USTR), the Department of Transportation (DOT), and the Department of Energy (DOE). Ambassador Jeter hosted a welcome reception for the Summit delegation. End Summary).

THE SETTING: QUITE AN ASSEMBLAGE

2. The Sixth Sullivan Summit gathered together an expressive roster of government and private sector personalities and talent from both sides of the Atlantic. Thirty-one African countries were represented by Heads of State or other senior government officials including President Obasanjo, Senegal President Wade, Mozambique Chissano (current African Union Chairman), President Kerekou of Benin, Namibian Prime Minister Gurirab, Burkinabe President Compaore, President Kufuor of Ghana, Gambian President Jammeh, President de Menezes of Sao Tome and Principe, President Mkapa of Tanzania, President Nguema of Equatorial Guinea, Togo's Eyadema, and even embattled President Mugabe of Zimbabwe attended the event (probably in an attempt to lessen his growing political isolation).

3. In addition to paying tribute to Rev. Sullivan, the African leaders energetically discussed the panoply of development challenges facing their countries and their continent. American and Nigerian corporate leaders were represented in significant numbers, described their interventions in support of development in Africa, and made commitments to continue their efforts, including to help prevent the spread of HIV/AIDS and other preventable diseases, increase the use of information technology, and improve food security. A bit of Hollywood luster was added by the attendance of actors Chris Tucker (Rush Hour) and Joseph Phillips (The Cosby Show).

4. The more than 600 delegates participated in plenary sessions and workshops that produced actionable recommendations building on agreements from earlier Summits and other global fora. Recommendations in the thematic areas of agriculture, health, education, and energy, trade and investment are intended to expand public-private partnerships to produce healthier and more educated populations in Africa, increase cooperation between Africa and the United States, and enhance Africa's position in the global economy. The Summit recommendations will be issued as a Summit Action Resolution and cited on the Summit website at www.thesummit.org.

PRESIDENT BUSH: OPENS THE SUMMIT/SETS THE PACE

15. In a historic first for the Summit, the sitting President of the United States opened the affair. President Bush eulogized Rev. Sullivan and reaffirmed key components of our Africa policy - the Millennium Challenge Account (MCA), the PMTCT, the Emergency AIDS Initiative, and anti-terrorism. He also announced a grant of \$5 million dollars to one of Rev. Sullivan's organizations, the International Foundation for Education and Self Help (IFESH) to support teacher training. President Bush was accompanied by Mrs. Bush, Secretary of State Colin Powell, National Security Advisor Condoleezza Rice, and White House Chief of Staff Andrew Card. Other senior officials of the Bush Administration were also in attendance, including Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs, Walter Kansteiner, Senior Advisor on Africa to the President Jendayi Frazer, Assistant Administrator, Bureau for Africa at USAID Constance Berry Newman and Assistant Administrator, Bureau for Global Health at USAID Anne Peterson.

16. Before President Bush's address, President Obasanjo delivered brief remarks welcoming the delegates to Abuja and acknowledging the great contributions Reverend Sullivan had made strengthening the relationship between Africa and America. Hope Sullivan, President and CEO of the Sullivan Foundation, acknowledged the many American and Nigerian corporate sponsors of the Summit, including Chevron Texaco, Exxon Mobil, Shell, Archer Daniels Midland, Chrome Energy Corp., Coca Cola, Sea, Petroleum and Gas, World Airways, SunTrust Oil, and USAID.

17. On July 14, Ambassador Andrew Young, Summit Chairman and Chairman of the Sullivan Foundation and Nigerian Vice President Atiku Abubakar addressed the opening plenary session. Young stated that Africa is the missing cog in the world economy. He stressed that realization of Rev. Sullivan's dream of building a bridge between Africa and America would promote mutual development that will make use of the heretofore untapped resources and wealth on the African continent. After welcoming the delegates to the "emerging city of Abuja," Vice President Abubakar stated that democracy will endure in Nigeria and that the Obasanjo administration will pursue new investments, infrastructure enhancement, capital growth, and enabling environment. He further stated that Nigeria is removing barriers to investment, banking practices are being liberalized, severe anti-corruption laws are being implemented and a level economic playing field is being created.

18. The Summit theme, "Africa: A Continent of Possibilities" was explored through the lens of four themes: 1) Agriculture, 2) Health, 3) Education, and 4) Energy, Trade and Investment. Summit organizers emphasized that each theme is integral to sustainable development and economic growth and urged delegates to make forward-looking and pragmatic recommendations that will have practical application.

AGRICULTURE: MAKING FOOD MORE PLENTIFUL

19. Discussion of agriculture, held on July 14, consisted of a plenary and three break-out sessions. Plenary speakers were Dr. Walter Hill, Tuskegee University, Nigerian Agriculture Minister Bello, Ms. Eva Clayton, FAO and South African Agricultural Minister Didiza. Break-out sessions focussed on Biotechnology and its Impact on Food Security and Sustainability in Sub-Saharan Africa; Reducing Hunger in Africa; and Models of Successful Agribusiness Development and Trade in Africa.

110. Speakers in the plenary and break-out sessions made significant points, including: a) poverty, environmental degradation and malnutrition rob African nations of vitality and the opportunity to develop their people and resources; b) science and technology, (currently constrained by low funding in most African nations), improved application of best practices can

make a significant difference in tackling Africa's chronic malnutrition and poverty; c) food security is a paramount issue for the security of states; d) agriculture is central to poverty reduction, but faces the challenges of low increases in yield, low input, and little value-added processing; e) women play a critical role in agriculture in Africa; f) and NEPAD is a concrete demonstration of African collective political will to promote agriculture and economic development in general.

11. Agriculture recommendations included: a) science and technology in agriculture (e.g., through research) needs to be addressed by encouraging both private-and public-sector investment; b) women's role in agricultural production must be enhanced and safeguarded; c) biotechnology must factor in an overall strategy to promote agriculture growth and assure food security; d) a strategy to expand the role of the private sector and the potential of expanded use of science and technology needs to be developed; and e) Africa must create an environment that encourages private-sector investment in small-scale farming. More information on the Agriculture presentations and recommendations will be available on the Summit website at www.thesummit.org.

HEALTH: LONGER, BETTER LIVES

12. The Health Plenary, held on July 14, featured Dr. Anne Peterson, Assistant Administrator, Bureau for Global Health, USAID, South African Health Minister Tshabalala-Msimang, Professor Babatounde Osotimehin,

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Chairman, National Action Committee on AIDS, Nigeria, Dr. Eamon Kelly, IFESH Board of Directors, and Jay Pryor, Chevron Nigeria. Break-out sessions were held on these topics: Mobilizing the Needed Leadership in the Fight Against HIV/AIDS; Rolling Back Malaria; Nutrition and Food Security; and MEDHELP Foundation's Open Heart Surgery.

13. Plenary and break-out session speakers addressed the nexus between health and development, acknowledging the threat to sustainable development caused by the prevalence of debilitating illnesses and the general deterioration of national health infrastructures, despite undoubted advances in some areas. They pointed to the many key determinants of health and disease that lie outside the direct control of the health sector: water and sanitation, education, agriculture, employment, environment, trade, tourism, energy, housing, security, as well as technology. Speakers urged the use of affordable technologies to assist HIV/AIDS prevention, care and support. Peterson, in particular, aligned the need for adequate investments in health with national policies on poverty reduction. Speakers called for stable and high-quality assistance and public-private partnerships to combat poverty, HIV/AIDS, food insecurity, gender inequalities, other priority development issues, and to move Africa toward the millennium development goals (MDGs).

14. Health recommendations were made in each break-out session and they include: a) African governments should create enabling environments for stakeholders to meet key national, regional and international health goals (e.g. MDGs and the Abuja Declaration on Fighting HIV/AIDS, Tuberculosis and Malaria); b) African and US governments, businesses and international PVOs/NGOs; c) African and US governments and development partners should ensure that model multi-sector approaches to address health challenges are implemented and assessed including what does not work, in addressing African health problems; the information should be widely shared using information technology; e) All African development partners should provide more support for research and scientifically tested utilization of African traditional medicine, keeping in mind the need for local patent protection of any medicines produced; and g) The Sullivan Summit should use its web site to highlight innovative partnerships that effectively address HIV/AIDS and other African health challenges. More information on the health presentations and recommendations will be available on the Summit website at www.thesummit.org.

EDUCATION: THE NEED TO KEEP PACE

15. Education sessions were held July 15. Dr. Frederick Humphries, President and CEO, National Association for Equal Opportunity in Higher Education (NAFEO) chaired the plenary panel of distinguished speakers: Mr. Julius Harvey, Vice President, Chevron Texaco's West Africa Products; Mr. Nouraini Tidjani-Serpos, Assistant Director-General, Africa Department, UNESCO, Paris; Honorable Constance Berry Newman, Assistant Administrator, Bureau for Africa, USAID; and Mr. Michael Omolewa, Permanent Representative of Nigeria, UNESCO, Paris. At the end of the plenary session, Chevron Texaco committed \$5 million to the Sullivan Foundation for the Books for Africa Program.

16. Break-out session topics were: Institutionalized Development Collaboration Between Historically Black Colleges and Universities (HBCUs) and African Colleges and Universities; Prioritizing Universal Primary Education and Gender Equality; Utilizing Information Technology and the Training of Trainers in Strengthening Basic Education; and the Role of the Private Sector and NGOs in Capacity Building.

17. Plenary and Break-out speakers identified challenges and trends that warrant further consideration for educational development in Africa and examined potential strategic US/Africa partnerships, with an emphasis on women and children. Many substantive points were made, including the following summary items: a) despite improvements within the past decade, inadequate access and quality, particularly for girls continue to hinder education in Africa; b) Africa has the lowest school enrollment rates in the world, with a corollary of low literacy rates; c) equal access to education is key in eradicating gender inequality; d) education is a precursor to an increasingly skilled workforce, a strong civil society, and economic growth; e) many African countries will not achieve Education for All goals by the 2015 target; f) holistic education in indigenous learning contexts is important along with the need to educate communities of people; and, g) various commitments by donors and the private sector can assist Africa to achieve qualitative education for all: the U.S. Presidential initiative, the African Education Initiative (AEI), UNESCO's efforts to eradicate gender inequality, and Shell's scholarships to students.

18. Education recommendations included: 1) African countries need to commit more resources to education; 2) the NEPAD Secretariat should develop an education action plan, addressing advocacy, measuring success, teacher training, support counseling, and production of resource materials; 3) HBCUs should establish linkages with African and Caribbean universities, particularly through a network of international virtual universities that will employ technology transfer, teacher training, etc.; 4) address gender inequalities through aggressive campaigns; and, 5) Summit and international organizations should post and adopt best practices in capacity building at the community level. More information about the Education presentations and recommendations will be posted on the Summit website at www.thesummit.org.

ENERGY, TRADE AND INVESTMENT-PATHS TO GROWTH

19. The Energy, Trade and Investment sessions were held July 16. George Kirkland, President ChevronTexaco Overseas Petroleum (USA) served as the chair and gave the keynote address. Other speakers included: Vice President Abubakar; Dr. Rilmanu Lukman, Special Adviser to Nigerian President Obasanjo on Petroleum; Congressman William Jefferson; Mr. Kofi Appenteng, Chairman Board of Directors, African-American Institute (USA); Wiseman Nkuhlu, Steering Committee Chairperson, NEPAD (South Africa). Break-out sessions were held on the following topics: Trade and AGOA; Energy-Potential and Possibilities; and The Potential of Investment Opportunities.

¶20. Vice President Abubakar pointed to tremendous investment opportunities not only in Nigeria's energy sector but in agriculture, solid minerals, cement, fertilizer and tourism. He announced that the GON will privatize industries in the energy sector and has started this process by unbundling for the mammoth state-owned electric company, NEPA. Atiku applauded the United States' AGOA partnership with Africa and welcomed the extension of the Act by the Bush Administration; he said Nigeria's textile industry was well positioned to take advantage of AGOA. He recommended that United States companies should invest more in Nigeria's energy sector, especially in the natural gas sector and that United States entrepreneurs should invest in and develop non-oil sectors such as agriculture, petrochemicals, solid minerals and tourism.

¶21. The main points and recommendations that emerged from the Energy, Trade and Investment sessions included the following:

- a) Speakers acknowledged that Nigeria will be at the forefront of deepwater oil and gas extraction over the next ten years, that Nigeria's local and regional gas markets have yet to be tapped, and oil development will remain strong for the foreseeable future;
- b) Nigerians must take advantage of the transfer of explorative and extractive technologies;
- c) Nigeria must develop its local gas market through investor incentives;
- d) The Gulf of Guinea will likely supply the United States with 25% of its crude oil by 2010, therefore, the region must make the country's bidding process and regulations more transparent and predictable;
- e) Nigeria should encourage investment in coal, uranium and gas sectors.
- f) Nigeria should stoke investment in non-oil industries, such as agriculture and mineral resources, by offering investors tax and import incentive in order to create more wealth and stability in the country;
- g) The GON must pass the required legislation to become AGOA eligible;
- h) The GON should provide concession incentives to gas, petrochemical and fertilizer companies to encourage development;
- i) Nigerian businessmen should use OPIC, the Export-Import Bank and the U.S. Trade and Development Authority to a greater extent for greater access to much needed investment insurance, capital and training opportunities;
- j) the United States should name Nigeria an area of vital strategic importance;
- k) African American and Nigerian businessmen should forge closer business links through the Black Caucus Foundation, the Sullivan Foundation or other organizations that promote African interests; and
- l) Western donors should contribute to NEPAD and partner with Africa countries as part of an overarching program to bring prosperity and peace to Africa.

More information about the Energy, Trade and Investment presentations and recommendations will be available on the Summit website at www.thesummit.org.

PRESIDENTIAL PLENARY

¶22. The Presidential Plenary was held on July 16. Led by President Obasanjo of Nigeria, the African Presidents expressed hope that the Summit would lead to greater corporate investment in Africa. President Kerekou of Benin emphasized the cultural ties between Africa and the U.S., the need for more cooperation between HBCUs and African Universities, and praised AGOA as a way of increasing trade and NEPAD as a framework for effective action. President Wade also held up the vision of NEPAD as one of good governance and involvement of the private sector. He stated that, a plan created by African decision-makers has a better chance of being implemented than one prepared by a technical expert. Citing that the private sector developed the U.S. Europe and Japan, he said it can also develop Africa. Having hosted the Summit of 1997 in Zimbabwe, President Mugabe paid tribute to Rev. Sullivan and stressed the need for NEPAD. However, his message, although in support of a good cause, also came with a touch of malice. He asked the Summiteers to support NEPAD in order to "help Africans become ourselves. Help us not to be puppets."

¶23. The coup in Sao Tome added unexpected drama to the Presidential Plenary. Timing the coup with President de Menezes' absence may have been convenient for the putschists to achieve their takeover; however, it was terrible timing as far as the diplomatic public backlash to their action. Not only did the Summit produce a convenient venue for the Heads of State to privately confer about the coup, each Head of State that ascended the rostrum condemned this arrogation, sending a clear message that coups were no longer acceptable practice in Africa. When President de Menezes rose to speak, the audience erupted in applause and gave him a standing ovation. He stated that, although already in Abuja, he decided not to attend the Summit after the coup was staged. However, President Obasanjo persuaded him to attend the Summit to demonstrate that he was not cowed and to make a strong public appeal against this undemocratic action.

¶23. Other African leaders spoke at the ceremonial Final Funeral Rites of Rev. Leon Sullivan held on July 17. The ceremony was steeped in tradition as numerous traditional funeral dances were performed. It was a very touching and moving occasion.

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